NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE AND THE RENAISSANCE TRADITION IN THE MARBLE FAUN

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Department of English

Appalachian State Teachers College

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

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by

Ernest Badgett

August 1966

APPROVAL SHEET

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study of The Marble Faun is to show that Nathaniel Hawthorne was indebted to the Renaissance literary tradition. Critical commentaries on the romance and on Hawthorne in general have been avoided as much as possible. Hawthorne's own statements and demonstrations of indebtedness to the Renaissance have been given primary consideration. Supplementary and background information has been supplied from sources known to Hawthorne as far as possible. In cases where Hawthorne's acquaintance with a particular source of Renaissance information could not be judiciously determined, the broadest and most representative statement available from the period has been cited.

In the study, Hawthorne's use of four major concepts from Renaissance cosmology has been demonstrated. His use of material from the science of demonology and his use of certain common Renaissance fictional techniques have also been demonstrated as they function in The Marble Faun.

PREFACE

It is my purpose in this study to show that in The Marble Faun, Nathaniel Hawthorne was indebted to the Renaissance literary tradition. Hawthorne incorporated a number of Renaissance ideas in the romance, such as the myth of the Golden Age, the Ladder of Creation, the Dignity of Man, and man as a microcosm. In addition to these cosmological ideas, he used several Renaissance commonplaces which pertain chiefly to demonology and witchcraft. In this study I have shown Hawthorne's further indebtedness to the Renaissance for a number of fictional techniques. These techniques are allusion, allegory, typological foreshadowing, epitomes, and the general tendency to venerate antiquity.

His use of these ideas and techniques was not accidental, but grew out of his reading of Renaissance literature and of the classics themselves and of the writings of English and American Puritans. Hawthorne's reading was supplemented by his travels in Italy. Hawthorne's reading in the works of the Puritans gave him an insight into the Renaissance mind in that Puritanism was a direct outgrowth of Renaissance humanism. Their writings also furnished him valuable information on witchcraft and demonology.

This study concerns four Renaissance cosmological concepts which I have isolated in The Marble Faun, their corollaries in the realm of popular Renaissance superstition,

and how Hawthorne used each in the romance. Biographical information has been used conservatively, being restricted almost entirely to details about Hawthorne's reading. I have included a wide selection of primary and secondary sources in which Hawthorne could have become acquainted with the ideas and others in which he would have seen their use in literature.

I have shown Hawthorne's use of Renaissance techniques and have tried to indicate Renaissance works known to Hawthorne which embody them. Through this study I have indicated that certain features of Hawthorne's theory of art and its function are in the Renaissance tradition.

Since Sophia Hawthorne removed most of the journal entries dealing with the development of The Marble Faun, the approach to Hawthorne's conscious manipulation of the Renaissance material that he read is necessarily indirect. In the romance itself Hawthorne makes several comments on the authors he has read. The biography, written by his son-in-law, George Lathrop, contains information about Hawthorne's early reading tastes. The chief source I have used in determining Hawthorne's acquaintance with particular phases of Renaissance literary thought and world-view has been his reading list, made up of entries in the Salem Athenaeum charge-books in his name. I have tried to make conservative use of the Athenaeum list, restricting

my citations either to works directly related to certain points of Renaissance thought written during the period itself or to works which were written after the Renaissance in which the specific points are crystallized.

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CHAPTER I

HAWTHORNE AND RENAISSANCE COSMOLOGY

In The Marble Faun Hawthorne makes several references to the Golden Age and its synonym, Arcadia. Miriam describes Donatello's similarity to the Faun of Praxiteles as "'not so strange ... for no Faun in Arcadia was ever a greater simpleton ... '"[1] Again, Miriam mentions "Arcady" in the same sportive mood when Donatello visits her studio.[2] Other allusions take on a coloring of greater sincerity. The frolic of Miriam and Donatello in the Borghese gardens amid scenery like that which "arrays itself in the imagination when we read the beautiful old myths, and fancy a brighter sky, a softer turf, a more picturesque arrangement of venerable trees"[3] is "a glimpse far backward into Arcadian life, or, further still, into the Golden Age."[4] Hawthorne describes the dance in the garden as "the Golden Age come back again"[5] and laments the ending of the dance as the passing of an age.[6]

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[1] Nathaniel Hawthorne, The Marble Faun; or, The Romance of Monte Beni (Vol. VI of The Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne, ed. George Parsons Lathrop. 15 vols.; Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1888), p. 22. All references in this study from The Marble Faun are to this edition.

[2] Ibid., p. 55.

[3] Ibid., p. 90.

[4] Ibid., p. 104.

[5] Ibid., p. 109.

[6] Ibid., p. 111.

Kenyon, the sculptor, describes the wonderful wine of Monte Beni, Donatello's ancestral castle, as a bit of the Golden Age "'even in the Iron Age.'"[7] Donatello's actual ancestry is linked with the race who "enriched the world with dreams, at least, and fables, lovely, if unsubstantial, of a Golden Age."[8]

Hawthorne was familiar with the myth of the Golden Age, which was common property among Renaissance writers. Indeed, Hawthorne's reading list[9] shows that his reading included Cervantes' Don Quixote de la Mancha, in which there is a full account of the Golden Age myth.[10] George Lathrop, Hawthorne's son-in-law, states that Hawthorne was a "good Latinist" of whom:

> the venerable Professor Packard has said that his /Hawthorne's/ Latin compositions, even in his Freshman year, were remarkable; and Mr. Longfellow tells me /Lathrop/ that he recalls the graceful and poetic translations which his classmate /Hawthorne/ used to give from the Roman authors.[11]

Whether or not Hawthorne read Hesiod's Works and Days, in

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[7] Ibid., p. 262. [8] Ibid., p. 269.

[9] Marion L. Kesselring, Hawthorne's Reading, 1828-1850; A Transcription and Identification of Titles Recorded in the Charge-Books of the Salem Athenaeum (New York: The New York Public Library, 1949), pp. 43-64, passim.

[10] See APPENDIX I-D.

[11] George Parsons Lathrop, A Study of Hawthorne (Boston: J. R. Osgood and Company, 1876), p. 111.

which the first use of the Golden Age *per se* occurs, can not be determined from the evidence at hand, but even if he did not, it seems likely that one who "kept up his liking for the Latin writers"[12] would have read Virgil's account of the myth in a number of his works.[13] Hawthorne is certain to have read Ovid[14] as a part of his regular college requirements. Another source in the Renaissance itself with which Lathrop[15] asserts Hawthorne's familiarity are the works of William Shakespeare,[16] Edmund Spenser, and Dante.

The myth of the Golden Age lies in Donatello's family background. By extension the Golden Age of the Monte Beni family is that of all humanity. Donatello's lineage harks back into history beyond the Christian Middle Ages, beyond the founding of ancient Rome, into the primordial era where myth and history merge and modify each other much as the worlds of reality and the supernatural converge in a Hawthorne

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[12] *Ibid.*

[13] See APPENDIX I-A, B, C.

[14] See APPENDIX I-D.

[15] Lathrop tells us that "almost before he could speak distinctly he is reported to have caught up certain lines of "Richard III," which he had heard read; and his favorite among them, always declaimed on the most unexpected occasions and in his loudest tone, was, — 'Stand back, my Lord, and let the coffin pass!'" Lathrop, p. 64. We are assured of his having read *The Tempest* in particular by the fact that he alludes to Prospero and Miranda in *The Marble Faun*, p. 161.

[16] See APPENDIX I-D; see also *Richard II*, II, i, 31-68; III, iv, 40-47; III, iv, 72-76. In reference to *Richard II*, Hawthorne would have seen, ready-made, the connection between

romance. Hawthorne has blended the pagan notion of the Golden Age with the traditional garden of Eden myth in The Marble Faun. Hawthorne, describing Hilda's vicarious knowledge of evil as more than mere theory, says that:

> in due time, some mortal, whom they /the innocents/ reverence too highly, is commissioned by Providence to teach them this direful lesson; he perpetrates a sin; and Adam falls anew, and Paradise, heretofore in unfaded bloom, is lost again, and closed forever, with the fiery swords gleaming at its gates.[17]

Already in the literature of the late Middle Ages and to a greater extent in that of the Renaissance, the myth of the Golden Age was amalgamated with the Biblical Eden.[18] The connection between the Golden Age myth and the Eden myth in the romance is obvious and has been noticed by Hawthorne scholars. Richard H. Fogle remarks that

> Hawthorne does not venture to identify the two, Eden having always a special sanctity, but in The

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the earthly paradise, Eden, England, and the Golden Age as a specific place, the isles of the blessed. It is not known whether or not Hawthorne knew Tasso's Aminta, but it is certain that Spenser did and that he used other of the Italian's works in formulating his Faerie Queene, which Hawthorne read and studied throughout his life, according to Lathrop, pp. 73-74.

[17]Hawthorne, op. cit., p. 238. Cf. Milton's Paradise Lost, XII, 588-594, Frank Allen Patterson (ed.), The Works of John Milton, 18 vols., (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), II, pp. 399-400.

[18]The garden of Eden idea in conjunction with the pastoral tradition already connected with the pagan myth of the Golden Age gave rise to the use of numerous garden images in

> Marble Faun they are clearly copresent, simplicities of similar import . . . the story of the Fall is pervasive throughout.[19]

Apparently Fogle is of the opinion that Hawthorne's orthodoxy forbade his calling Eden a myth in the same sense as the pagan Golden Age.

The place of the Golden Age-Eden amalgam in the total cosmology of the Renaissance was understood in terms of a series of expanding analogies. As a man's individual life has its childhood wherein there is a carefree oneness with nature and a familiarity "'with whatever creatures haunt the woods,'"[20] so in the childhood of the world there was a universal harmony in all creation.

The Judaeo-Christian tradition placed this primal harmony in the garden of Eden. The pagan classics contained similar stories. Humanists of the Renaissance sought to merge the

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the literature of the Renaissance. A notable example is Spenser's "Bowre of Blisse" in The Faerie Queene, II, i; v; xii.

[19]Richard Harter Fogle, Hawthorne's Fiction: The Light and the Dark (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952), p. 168. It is interesting to note that Hawthorne's alleged scruples about the Eden myth are similar to those of Milton. This is perhaps attributable to their common Puritan background and their common Renaissance heritage. The use of pagan parallels in a position subservient to Judaeo-Christian ideas is not original with either Hawthorne or Milton, but is ultimately a product of Renaissance humanistic teaching.

[20]Hawthorne, op. cit., p. 285.

two traditions. This was accomplished by positing the idea that both stories represented varying accounts of the same basic truth.[21] The result of this merging of traditions was that the Renaissance authors frequently supported Biblical allusions with allusions to parallel material from the classical myths, authors, or histories which seemed to offer non-Scriptural documentation and further to assure their universality. Hawthorne has clearly imitated Milton in this respect.

Both Eden and the Golden Age were brought to an end by the entrance of evil. Donatello's family history contains a legendary account of the disruption of the beatific order in dim antiquity. According to the legend, Donatello's family was descended from an actual Faun and a mortal mother. In succeeding generations the characteristics of the original Faun reappeared in a descendant. Donatello's sportive and child-like disposition, his unity with nature, and perhaps even the tufted, leaf-shaped ears of his ancestor herald him

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[21]For a good summary of the process by which the humanists arrived at and implemented this amalgamation, see Paul Oskar Kristeller, Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanist Strians (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1961), pp. 70-91; Jean Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art, translated from the French by Barbara F. Sessions (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961), pp. 84-122; and Douglas Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1963), pp. 23-45.

as such a creature.[22] Another family legend, this one clothed in the language of a chivalric romance, told of a knight of the Monte Beni lineage who fell in love with a water nymph, the inhabitant of a nearby fountain. One day the knight tried to wash away a blood-stain in the nymph's fountain. She appeared to him only once after that, and then with a red stain on her brow. The knight repented of his deed and pined for her return. At length, when she did not reappear, he had a statue of her placed by the fountain.[23] Donatello's own life was but a re-enactment of what had already happened to his race and to the world at large.

The entrance of evil into the cosmic order in the Eden myth is closely related to the coming of discord into the gentile notion of the harmony of the spheres.[24] According to Renaissance belief, all creation is arranged in a series of concentric spheres. In each sphere there is a planet which is ruled by a particular daemon (the fallen angels were thought to be the gods and goddesses of the pagans and were worked into the cosmology as planetary deities operating under God) who exerts an influence upon the earth, the center of the cosmos. The revolution of these spheres produces a

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[22] Hawthorne, op. cit., pp. 269-274.

[23] Ibid., pp. 282-284. Cf. the scene in which Sir Guyon tries to wash the blood stains off Ruddymane's "guiltie handes" in Spenser's Faerie Queene, II, ii, 1-10, pp. 19-21, in The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition edited by Edwin Greenlaw, et. al. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1932-1938).

[24] See APPENDIX II.

whirring sound, each sphere producing a particular note on a musical scale. The combined sound of these notes results in what was called the music of the spheres, which was understood to be a perfect harmony. Adam's fall disrupted the finely balanced mechanism and caused the planets to assume elliptical orbits. Discord replaced the original harmony, and the influences of the planets formed chance (though mathematically predictable) combinations which often brought death, disease, famine, toil, and strife into the world.[25] Man and Nature became estranged, and the Golden Age came to an end.

The Renaissance was essentially Christian in its world-view. The Pauline doctrine of Christ as the redeemer of the ruined world was a tacit assumption common to Renaissance Christians of all sects. Christ was seen as the Creative Principle incarnate returned to re-establish the rule of universal order. The Renaissance also accepted the idea that Christ's coming had been foreshadowed by certain "types," such as Abraham, Moses, Samson, David, and Judas Maccabaeus in the Hebrew tradition. In line with their desire to retain the works and learning of the classical tradition, they further believed that certain pagan myths foretold Christ's coming, although less distinctly and more heavily veiled in allegory than the Hebrew variants. Such figures as Perseus, Heracles,

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[25]See Milton's Paradise Lost, X, 648-719, in The Works, Vol. II, pp. 327-330.

Theseus, Horus, Hyperion, Apollo, and Aeneas[26] from the gentile traditions were taken to be allegorical proto-Christs. This belief, usually called typology, was a strong binder in the amalgamation of the divergent traditions. Renaissance literature found in typology a rich source of allegory and symbolism and a useful fictional technique. Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton used it extensively.[27] These three poets, spanning the entire range of the Renaissance in England, were read by Hawthorne. Hawthorne uses the idea that discord introduced into universal harmony is analgous to the entrance of evil into Eden in a situation epitomizing the cosmic act. Miriam's voice joins those of her artist friends and

> seemed to pervade the whole choir of other voices, and then to rise above them all, and become audible in what would else have been the silence of an upper region. That volume of melodious voice was one of the tokens of a great trouble.[28]

After the murder there is a strangeness in the voices which "had accorded and sung in cadence with their own."[29] The universal ramifications of an isolated evil act "destroys more Edens than our own."[30] This repeats the idea expressed earlier that "our own little separate sin, — makes us

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[26]See APPENDIX I, B.

[27]Examples may be seen in Spenser's "A Letter of the Authors," "The Tears of the Muses," ll. 67-96, "Virgils Gnat," ll. 545-560, in the R. E. Neil Dodge edition of The Complete Works, pp. 136a, 71-72, and 545-560, respectively, and in The Faerie Queene, V, ix, 42, in The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition, edited by Edwin Greenlaw, et. al., p. 112; Shakespeare's Henry VI, Part Three, I, iv, 121 and Richard III, IV, iv, 244 in The Complete Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, ed. by William Allan Neilson and Charles Jarvis Hill (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1962), pp. 828b, 892b; and in Milton's Paradise Lost, XII, 285-371, in The Works of John Milton, II, pp. 388-392.

[28]Hawthorne, op. cit., p. 194. [29]Ibid., p. 206.

[30]Ibid., p. 247.

guilty of the whole."[31] Once discord enters, the balance is upset and the bonds of sympathy which hold the cosmos intact begin to give way.

Besides viewing the universe as a series of concentric spheres, the educated man of the Renaissance saw his world as a scale (Latin scala) ladder on which all creation is ranged in a continuum by degrees from the highest to the lowest. The Renaissance thinker saw this ladder as a vertical section extending upward through the spheres, and from man downward through the ranks of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms to a base for the ladder reposing in crude, unformed matter. Also presented in the kindred metaphor of the Great Chain of Being, this explanation sought to express perceptible order and connection in the reality tangibly shown by Nature, and in the realms of incorporeal substances guaranteed by revelation and religious faith. Thus it is both an effort to grasp a scientifically plausible notion of the cosmos, and to convey a hierarchy of values which a moral God infused from His mind, by His word, into all things.

Tracing so far back as the instinctive basis of Platonic or Hebrew thought that what is highest is best, or

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[31] Ibid., p. 208.

vice versa, the notion of the ladder of Creation admirably suited the tightly unified and theologically tinted cosmos of the Middle Ages. The system used in the Renaissance was essentially the medieval scheme as outlined in The Celestial Hierarchy of Pseudo-Dionysius.[32] In later times, when the purely scientific "truth" of the scheme was shaky or exploded, the concept still held obvious advantages for presenting a literary interpretation of Man's spiritual quandary as related to the human and natural world around him. It was perhaps most serviceable to writers conscious of the reality of sin and the problem of evil, considered either as states of privation, or of negation of the moral law penetrating the universe, or of a knowing, willful overturn of God's order. So it is used, for example, by Spenser,[33] Shakespeare,[34] and Milton.[35] Even though Deistic inclinations and Augustan literary vogues minimize Alexander

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[32]For a quick summary of the orders of creation set forth in The Celestial Hierarchy, see Henry Osborn Taylor, "Dionysius Areopagiticus (Pseudo-Dionysius)," Encyclopaedia Britannica, eleventh edition. VIII, 285a. For a more thorough treatment of the history of the idea, see Arthur O. Lovejoy, The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea (New York: Harper and Brothers), 1960.

[33]Edmund Spenser, "Hymn to Heavenly Beauty" in The Four Hymns, ll. 71-105 in The Complete Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser, edited by R. E. Neil Dodge (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1908), pp. 755-756.

[34]Ulysses' speech on degrees in Troilus and Cressida, I, iii, 84-141, in A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare, edited by Harold N. Hillebrand (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1953), pp. 52-58. See also pp. 359-410 in the same work for a detailed discussion of Shakespeare's Renaissance sources for the speech on degrees.

[35]Paradise Lost, V, 467-848 in John Milton's Complete Poems and Major Prose, edited by Merritt Y. Hughes (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1957), pp. 313-322.

Pope's stress on evil, the dual use of the Chain of Being, or ladder, is apparent in his Essay on Man.[36] Between Pope and Hawthorne, Transcendentalism came to sharpen Hawthorne's awareness of the potent reality — can one say "dimension"? — of Evil. Hawthorne's reaffirmation of ancient truths about evil gave the aging metaphor new life and relevance. It was once more viable and inviting.

Hawthorne alludes to this configuration of the universe by his constant use of height and depth imagery. The depths of the catacomb of St. Calixtus, where the Roman Church was born, forms a striking contrast with the high dome of St. Peter's. An inference more closely related to the ladder of creation can be made by noting the similarity between the gloomy, subterranean house of the dead, the "intricate passages along which they followed their guide,"[37] and Dante's Inferno.

Hilda's dove-cote, atop which there is a shrine of the Virgin, is a striking example of the imagery Hawthorne uses to convey the ascent into the "sweet air, above all the

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[36] Alexander Pope, An Essay on Man, edited by Maynard Mack (Vol. III, Part I of The Poems of Alexander Pope, ed. John Butt. 6 vols.; London: Methuen and Company, 1950), pp. 17-23, 36-46.

[37] Hawthorne, op. cit., p. 39.

evil scents of Rome."[38] The stairs leading to it are likened to "Jacob's ladder, or . . . the staircase of the Tower of Babel,"[39] and to Hilda's "maidenly elevation."[40] A half playful mention is made to an ascent beyond the top of the tower, but Hilda warns that if Miriam is less than an angel, she "would find the stones of the Roman pavement very hard."[41] Hawthorne's descriptions of the pit, the bottom of the scale, are perhaps the more vivid.[42] Miriam, because of her sin, is denied access to Hilda's tower.[43]

Donatello's ancestral tower is likened by Kenyon to:

> a man's life, when he has climbed to eminence, . . . or, let us rather say, with its difficult steps, and the dark prison-cells you speak of, your tower resembles the spiritual experience of many a sinful soul, which, nevertheless, may struggle upward into the pure air and light of Heaven at last.[44]

The concept of the Ladder of Creation is as pervasive an aspect of Renaissance literature as the theme of the Golden Age. Not only is it nearly ubiquitous in the Renaissance, it is central and sharply focused in literary works and poetry very well known to Hawthorne. It can be

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[38] Ibid., p. 70.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid., p. 71.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid., p. 191.
[43] Ibid., p. 241.
[44] Ibid., p. 292.

found in at least three works of Edmund Spenser,[45] the most notable being "The Hymn of Love," in which the central unifying image is the ladder of love, another version of the ladder of creation. In fact, Spenser uses the complete celestial hierarchy, unlike Milton who modified it and simplified the Areopagite's scheme.[46] Ulysses' speech on degree in Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida would have given Hawthorne a primary source from the period. It is not certain that Hawthorne read Elyot's The Governor or Hooker's Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. The two books would have been available and each contains the idea of the Ladder of Creation in some detail. His Athenaeum reading list includes Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World, which contains the great ladder concept in its preface.[47]

The influence of Milton on Hawthorne is well known.

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[45]The ladder of creation idea is found in Spenser's Faerie Queene, I, ix, 1, p. 110; I, x, 45, p. 135; II, ii, 41, p. 29; IV, xii, 3, p. 151; V, ix, 27-29, pp. 108-109, and "The Hymn to Love" and "The Hymn to Heavenly Beauty," ll. 176-189, pp. 744-745, and ll. 22-105, pp. 754-756, respectively, in The Four Hymns, in The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition edited by Edwin Greenlaw, et. al. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1932-1938).

[46]"In the convocations in heaven and the parody of them in Pandaemonium by the devils it was inevitable that Milton should use the titles of the nine orders of the heavenly hierarchy that the Church had inherited from Dionysius the 'Areopagite,' . . . But . . . there is every evidence of Protestant and Puritan reticence about belief in angels in Paradise Lost." Merritt Y. Hughes, "Paradise Lost: Introduction," in John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1957), p. 182. For a full discussion of this point, see Robert H. West, Milton and the Angels (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1955), pp. 133-136.

[47]Athenaeum list, p. 59a, #362. The bibliography of possible sources was taken from E. M. W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944), pp. 7ff.

His sister, Elizabeth Hawthorne, tells in a letter that:

> Hawthorne had studied Milton in his youth, and an understanding of Paradise Lost was subsequently of great importance to his developing a profound knowledge of the operation of evil in human nature.[48]

Milton used the ladder of creation in Paradise Lost. Any one of the possible sources would have given Hawthorne a working knowledge of the concept as a literary possibility.

Hawthorne's characters in The Marble Faun occupy different positions on the ladder of creation. Miriam is a highly intelligent girl who has artistic talent, yet her passions too often gain the upper hand and steer her in an irrational course. The abuse or neglect of reason leads to a descent in the scale of being. Her passions lead her toward evil. The agent of evil in the romance is Miriam's model, who is variously called the Spectre, the Capuchin, Antonio, and the adversary.[49] If the romance is a re-enactment of the Eden story, then Miriam represents Eve, the adversary is Satan, and Donatello is the new Adam.

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[48]Elizabeth Manning Hawthorne to James T. Fields, December 1870 (Randall Stewart, "Recollections of Hawthorne by his Sister Elizabeth," American Literature, XVI (January 1945), p. 319. See the Athenaeum List, p. 57a, #312, for the record of Hawthorne's reading in Milton's prose.

[49]The Hebrew word "satan" translates literally as "adversary." G. B. Caird, Principalities and Powers: A Study in Pauline Theology (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 31.

Donatello is similar to Milton's Adam in that he is naturally noble, honest, sincere, and a creature at one with nature. Like Adam he has no experiential knowledge of evil. Unlike Adam he seems to lack the faculty of intellect and in this sense is less than human, although lacking in the animalistic traits associated with beings beneath man. He is a special case roughly analogous to the prelapsarian Adam.[50] Donatello's place on the ladder at the beginning of the romance is static, "not supernatural, but just on the verge of nature, and yet within it . . . standing betwixt man and animal . . . revelling . . . as mankind did in its innocent childhood; before sin . . ."[51] After the fall his mind "rose to a higher life than he had hitherto experienced."[52] Kenyon observed that some dark calamity had left a visible effect "upon Donatello's intellect and disposition."[53] With the development of the intellect came knowledge, and with knowledge came responsibility. The feeling of guilt led Donatello to his confession and imprisonment. His sin, like Adam's in Paradise Lost, was brought about by his greater love for a creature than for the Creator and his own spiritual well-being. As Eve was

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[50] See APPENDIX III.

[51] Hawthorne, op. cit.

[52] Ibid., p. 325.

[53] Ibid., p. 302.

first tempted and in turn tempted Adam, so Miriam first came under the evil influence of the adversary and, through a glance which passed between her eyes and Donatello's, endorsed the murder. The nature of their crime has overtones of spiritual pride, for in judging the murder in any degree justifiable, they usurped a power reserved for God alone.

Milton's archangel Michael charges the guilty Adam and Eve upon their expulsion from Eden with their responsibilities to each other and to God in their new life.[54] In The Marble Faun Hawthorne has Kenyon perform this function under the serene eye of the statue of Pope Julius III in Perugia.[55]

Hilda's counterpart does not lie in the Miltonic epic. She appears to be more closely akin to Spenser's Red Cross Knight, whose journey from ignorant faith to a real under-

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[54] Paradise Lost, books XI-XII.

[55] "'I well know,' rejoined Kenyon, 'that I shall not succeed in uttering the few, deep words which, in this matter, as in all others, include the absolute truth. But here, Miriam, is one whom a terrible misfortune has begun to educate; it has taken him, and through your agency, out of a wild and happy state, which, within circumscribed limits, gave him joys that he cannot elsewhere find on earth. . . . Not for earthly bliss, therefore, . . . but for mutual elevation, and encouragement towards a severe and painful life, you take each other's hands. And if, out of toil, sacrifice, prayer, penitence, and earnest effort towards right things, there comes . . . a sombre and thoughtful happiness, taste it, and thank Heaven!'" pp. 368-370.

standing of evil is by way of education. Hilda had no part in the murder, yet her despondency is no less real. At least it is sufficient to drive a New England girl to Catholic confession. In a number of prose writings of the Renaissance, the humanistic view of education is advanced and debated.[56] Hawthorne could have seen the theory almost anywhere in the authors of the Renaissance or the succeeding centuries. Milton's Of Education and Areopagitica both discuss the theory that learning through reading is preferable to experience. The general argument of all such tracts is that good is truly known only as related to and contrasted with evil. One might learn of evil through reading and study with no danger to the soul, whereas to learn the same amount through experience would not only endanger the soul by participation in evil, but also be much less efficient. Hilda's first concrete knowledge of evil as a reality is vicarious; therefore it poses no direct threat to her soul. Hilda's position on the ladder of creation is between man and the angels, just as Donatello's was between man and the animals. Both are a little other than human, but from differing sides of the dividing line.

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[56]Renaissance humanist educational theory was available to Hawthorne in Milton's Of Education, pp. 278-279, and in his Areopagitica, pp. 308-309 in The Works of John Milton, Vol. 4. Hawthorne could have seen the theory also in Spenser's letter prefixed to The Faerie Queene, pp. 167-168, The Works of Edmund Spenser, and in Pope's Essay on Criticism, V, ll. 161-200, pp. 259-263, Poems of Alexander Pope, Vol. I.

Each is deficient in his own way and each is humanized by the murder.

Implicit in man's unique position in the ladder of creation is the corollary of the innate dignity of man. In all creation man alone has the ability to ascend or descend. Kenyon's speech, cited earlier, echoes the idea of man's special place in the universe. God has provided man with a means of regaining his lost Eden through the exercise of his unique will. Only man is in God's image, so believed the Renaissance, and so believed Hawthorne. The Renaissance concept of the dignity of man was put into definitive form in Pico's "Oration on the Dignity of Man."[57] Man's centrality in the universe and his possession of a free will were the touchstones of the concept. Man's position above the animals and below the angelic ranks meant that he was a transitional figure bridging the world of physical nature, the world of the body, and the world of spiritual reality, the world of the soul. This dichotomy of the body and the soul is a commonplace in the works of Renaissance Neo-

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[57] "When Pico chooses the 'dignity of Man' as his central theme, he is merely taking up certain motifs which the older humanism had again and again treated rhetorically. The treatise De dignitate et excellentia hominis, already written in 1452 by Gianozzo Manetti, is constructed according to the same formal and intellectual schema that Pico's oration follows." Ernst Cassirer, The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy, translated from the German by Mario

Platonists, the plays and sonnets of Shakespeare, the poems of Petrarch, Dante, Spenser, Milton, to name a few of many. Allied with the body and with the rest of animal nature were the passions. In the realm of the spirit, there was the image of God in man, the intellect. The fall of man from original harmony had resulted in his being able to know good from evil. At the expulsion, Michael instructed Adam and Eve that they had been given a will with freedom of choice. The will was inclined toward a pleasure principle, the satisfaction of animal wants. It was equally apt to choose the satisfaction of intellectual wants. Evil was constituted by the following of the dictates of the passions to the detriment of the reason. Hawthorne has epitomized man's moral dilemma in the opening paragraph of The Marble Faun in

> a symbol (as apt at this moment as it was two thousand years ago) of the Human Soul, with its choice of Innocence or Evil close at hand, in the pretty figure of a child, clasping a dove to her bosom, but assailed by a snake.[58]

The opposition of body and soul is at the base of Kenyon's statement that "while we live on earth, it is true, we must needs carry our skeletons about with us; but, for Heaven's

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Domandi (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1963), p. 83. See also Herschel Baker, The Image of Man (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1961), pp. 243-246.

[58]Hawthorne, op. cit., p. 19.

sake, do not let us burden our spirits with them, in our feeble efforts to soar upward!"[59] Hawthorne moralizes on the state of man and uses the basic dichotomy to do so when he says:

> While the fertile scene showed the never-failing beneficence of the Creator towards man in his transitory state [in the body], these symbols [road-side crosses and shrines] remind each wayfarer of the Savior's infinitely greater love for him as an immortal spirit.[60]

Man served yet another function in the Renaissance cosmology. Man was seen to be a microcosm reflecting the macrocosm in all essential points. The series of expanding analogies extending down through the spheres from the Godhead on the outer edge of the universe came to a concentrated point in man in the center. Man's innate dignity is supremely asserted by this Renaissance concept. Hawthorne would have become acquainted with this part of the concept of man's place in the universe from the same sources that familiarized him with the notion of the Ladder of Creation. According to E. M. W. Tillyard:

> Just as in the chain of being the position of man was the most interesting of all, so among the correspondences that between man and the cosmos was the most famous and the most exciting. . . . the idea of man summing up the universe in him-

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[59] Ibid., pp. 295-296. [60] Ibid., p. 341.

self had a strong hold on the imaginations of the Elizabethans.[61]

Hawthorne has taken advantage of traditional correspondences or sympathetic bonds which hold the various layers of the cosmos together. According to Tillyard, the layers, which is but another way of seeing a sectional view of the spheres, are "the divine and angelic, the universe or macrocosm, the commonwealth or body politic, man or the microcosm, and the lower creations."[62] Events happening in one sphere are reflected in all the others. It has already been pointed out that Adam's sin upset the balance and sent a ripple outward into the rest of the cosmos. Donatello's individual childhood was shown to represent, in type, that of his race and of the great world. His subsequent maturation is also an individual restatement of what had long before taken place on the cosmic level. The correspondences may work in either direction. In the case of Adam, the correspondences carried the disordering principle outward from the center. They work in the other direction; i.e., from the top down, in the form of stellar influences, the direct intervention of Providence, and, in The Marble Faun, from the broad Fall of Man theme to the specific fall of Donatello.

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[61] E. M. W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944), pp. 84-85.

[62] Ibid., p. 77.

Donatello's attempt to summon the forest creatures as he had in his youth resulted in his cry, "Death, death! They know it!"[63] The animals with whom he had been connected by a bond of sympathy fail to answer his now alien call. Kenyon responds to a landscape in which "lakes opened their blue eyes in its face, reflecting heaven, lest mortals should forget that better land when they beheld the earth so beautiful."[64] He interprets the scene to Donatello as a "page of heaven and a page of earth."[65] Another passage which portrays nature as God's hieroglyph[66] occurs when the rolling clouds are linked in the sculptor's imagination to a re-enactment of original Creation.[67] The heavens reflect Donatello's state of mind when he sees the form of the dead monk in the cloud formations[68] in much the same manner that the storm reflects the strife in the microcosm in King Lear.

Hawthorne has used the Golden Age-Eden amalgam as the basic metaphor in The Marble Faun. He has fitted his characters in the Renaissance framework of the ladder of Creation and has relied on the sympathies or correspondences

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[63] Hawthorne, op. cit., p. 288.

[64] Ibid., p. 297.

[65] Ibid., p. 298.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid., p. 305.

[68] Ibid., p. 306.

linking the various layers of the cosmos to man, specifically to Donatello as microcosm, to show the social ramifications of sin just as Milton had done to show the cosmic results of Adam's Fall. The centrality of man in the Renaissance cosmology is reflected in Milton's epic and in Hawthorne's romance. Man is necessarily central in both because of their common theme of man's redemption from the fallen state.

CHAPTER II

DEMONOLOGY IN THE MARBLE FAUN

In addition to the cosmological ideas discussed in chapter one, which Hawthorne obtained from the Renaissance, he used another branch of learning which was of importance in the Renaissance, the science of demonology. The fundamentals of the ancient art of witchcraft remained unchanged from the time of Henry Cornelius Agrippa to the famous Salem witch trials. Demonology stemmed from the writings of the Neo-Platonists, the learning of the ancients as seen and modified by the Middle Ages, the Jewish and Christian cabalistic and gnostic writings, and the remnants of the magico-religious lore of Egypt and Babylonia.[1] Demonology often reflected the warmth and color of Oriental sources, and Hawthorne, relating the various speculations as to Miriam's origin, says she was thought to be Jewish, "an idea perhaps suggested by a certain rich Oriental character in her face."[2] Her dark eyes of soundless depth and her "black, abundant hair . . . such as crowns no Christian maiden's head"[3] seem to verify her ancestral

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[1] See APPENDIX IV.

[2] Hawthorne, The Marble Faun, p. 38.

[3] Ibid., p. 65.

connection with the East. This suspicion is later verified by Miriam herself.[4]

Kenyon says that Miriam has "bewitched"[5] Donatello. He laughingly tells her that she has the powers of an enchantress. Hawthorne describes her as resembling "one of those images of light, which conjurers evoke."[6] Although Miriam is never seriously called a witch or a supernatural being, Hawthorne has kept her origins a secret and has made them subject to much speculation.[7] There is speculation, too, concerning her exact relationship to the Spectre; i.e., her model-adversary. Miriam herself joins in this speculation. Even in her playful tales there is perhaps a hard core of truth, for Hawthorne notes that "it was somewhat remarkable that all her romantic fantasies arrived at this self-same dreary termination."[8] The dreary termination of which he speaks is the devil pact implicit in each.

The first story about the Spectre, that told by the Italian guide, to be linked with Miriam's model was the legend of Memmius, a "man, or demon, or man-demon," whose duty as a Roman spy sent him into the catacombs in search of fugitive Christians. Once he was granted divine indul-

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[4] Ibid., p. 486.
[5] Ibid., p. 33.
[6] Ibid., p. 36.
[7] Ibid., p. 38.
[8] Ibid., p. 50.

gence, but refused it and was damned to roam the tombs eternally. Bringing him to the light of day was thought to be the same as unleashing the Devil on earth.[9] It was with this demon-man that Miriam is thought to have made a pact.

The diabolic pact is a part of an immense store of demonology already old in the Renaissance. The essentials of the pact are that one knowingly and formally exchanges his soul, and its right to heaven, with the Devil in return for certain powers over the elements for as long as that mortal shall live. Miriam's model functions symbolically in the romance as a type of Satanic figure. This is indicated by the scene at the fountain where Miriam "took up some of the water in the hollow of her hand, and practiced an old form of exorcism by flinging it in her persecutor's face."[10] She accompanied the rite with the formula, "in the name of all the Saints, . . . vanish, Demon, and let me be free of you now and forever.'"[11] The model's hands are spoken of as "brown, bony talons."[12] This image of a dark bird of prey[13] re-enforces the notion that he is a pernicious

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[9] Ibid., p. 48f.

[10] Ibid., p. 176.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid., p. 114.

[13] There is a bird of prey associated with the image of Satan in Milton's epic where "Both Table and Provisions vanished quite/With sound of Harpies wings, and Talons heard;/

agent who would destroy Miriam. The supernatural character of the model and of his relation to Miriam is further established when they meet in the Borghese Grove. The atmosphere insulates the two, and there erected "an insuperable barrier between their life streams and other currents, which might seem to flow in close vicinity." There is an "unsympathetic medium"[14] separating them from the natural correspondence of the universe. The strange relationship between Miriam and her model is inviolable. Their "fates cross and are entangled."[15] Miriam expresses a desire to break their pact and urges the model:

> Pray for deliverance from me, since I am your evil genius, as you are mine. Dark as your life has been, I have known you to pray in times past![16]

At these words the model "shook and grew ashy pale. In this man's memory, there was something that made it awful for him to think of prayer."[17] Miriam's will appears to be subordinated to the model's, for he says, "You know the power that I have over you. Obey my bidding. . . ."[18] Later in the

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Only the importune Tempter still remained, . . ." Paradise Regained, II, 402-404; The Works of John Milton, II, ii, p. 438.

[14] Hawthorne, op. cit., p. 114. [15] Ibid., p. 117.

[16] Ibid. [17] Ibid., p. 118.

[18] Ibid., p. 119.

romance, Kenyon sees what he interprets as Miriam's kneeling to the model.[19] The model's function in the romance is kept ambiguous. Taken literally, he is merely an artist's mannequin, but his effect upon Miriam's work and upon her disposition belies literalism. His influence has left traces in her paintings and sketches "which would destroy all Miriam's prospects of true excellence in art."[20]

Hawthorne has used images and situations from demonology in his characterization of Miriam and her demonic model. This substratum of witchcraft with Satan in the garden may be construed as the first seduction through evil arts.

The author makes use of witchcraft and demon lore in The Marble Faun in instances other than the portrayal of Miriam's entanglement with the model. Hawthorne's other allusions to such lore are random and seem to be used chiefly for their colorific and connotative value.[21]

The brief mention of Prospero[22] has suggestive power

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[19] Ibid., p. 132. [20] Ibid., p. 47.

[21] The notable exception to this is the small number of allusions to magic that cluster around Hawthorne's image of the artist as a magician. These will be discussed in a separate chapter on Hawthorne's theory of art as exemplified in The Marble Faun.

[22] Hawthorne, The Marble Faun, pp. 185-186.

and recalls to the reader Shakespeare's Tempest, in which Prospero appears as a natural magician who commands the powers of earth and air. Hawthorne has not confined his references to natural magicians only, but speaks also of the black magicians, necromancers. A longer allusion to Benvenuto Cellini's account, in the Autobiography, of the phantoms evoked by a necromancer in the ruined Coliseum enhances the aura of malevolence which thickens the over-ripe atmosphere of ancient Rome's corruption and impending death and decay.

Other incidental colorific uses of Renaissance superstitious lore are the brief mention of an English Templar, who visited Monte Beni in search of information about the legend of Donatello's ancestors,[23] and the use of such expressions as "alchemist" in the description of the golden color in the sky at Monte Beni,[24] "atmospheric terror" and "charmed and deadly circle" describing the malarial infestation of Rome in the summer.[25] One instance in which Hawthorne has used a supersitition to add dimension and color to a situation which deserves special attention is the scene in which the dead Capuchin monk, identified with

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[23] Ibid., p. 291.

[24] Ibid., p. 307.

[25] Ibid., p. 248.

the murdered adversary, bleeds when Miriam approaches the bier. Kenyon explains the odd occurrence to his own rational satisfaction, but Miriam, apparently the only one of the group who knows the supernatural significance of the situation, reminds the group of the old superstition that the bodies of the murdered men bleed upon the entrance of the murderer into the room.[26]

There is a clear precedent from Renaissance literature, in Shakespeare's Richard III, for the use of this old belief in literature where Lady Anne says:

> Oh Gentlemen, see, see dead Henries wounds,
> Open their congeal'd mouthes, and bleed afresh.
> Blush, blush, thou lumpe of fowle Deformitie:
> For 'tis thy presence that exhales /draws forth/
> this blood
> From cold and empty Veins where no blood dwels.[27]

In this connection, T. F. Thiselton Dyer recalls that the superstition is very old and was once almost universally held to be true.[28]

Hawthorne need not have taken the idea for this device from Shakespeare, although he certainly could have. His

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[26] Ibid., pp. 221-222.

[27] William Shakespeare, Richard III, I, ii, 61-65, in A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare, ed. by Horace Howard Furness, Jr. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1908), p. 52.

[28] T. F. Thiselton Dyer, Folk Lore of Shakespeare (London: Griffith and Farran, 1883), p. 486.

reading shows that he was acquainted with a number of sources of such lore. Necromancy, demonology, witchcraft, natural magic, all related subjects, would have been commonplaces to a reader of Increase Mather's Illustrious Providences, Cotton Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana, Joseph Barlow Felt, The Annals of Salem, Sir Walter Scott's Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft, David Brewster's Letters on Natural Magic, Christopher Marlowe's Doctor Faustus,[29] Robert Browning's Paracelsus, and many other works dealing at least in part with the subject.[30] Hawthorne's reading list does not include Cellini's Autobiography, but, since he alluded to it in the romance, it seems likely that he had read it. With the background in demonology he had already acquired, however, his reading it would have contributed little to his knowledge of the subject.

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[29]Marlowe's Doctor Faustus was based in part on the life and works of Henry Cornelius Agrippa, the magus and Neo-Platonist. It is not certain that Hawthorne read Goethe's Faust, based on Marlowe's play and on Goethe's own research in the works of Agrippa, but it is very probable. Marlowe alone would have acquainted Hawthorne with the literary possibilities latent in diabolic pacts and the occult sciences of the Renaissance. See APPENDIX IV.

[30]Hawthorne's Athenaeum reading list indicates that the works listed above were charged to him. See numbers 299, 298a, 391, 52, 290, and 61 respectively in the Athenaeum list.

Hawthorne's use of demon-lore in The Marble Faun is sparing. He has used it chiefly in characterizing Miriam, the model, and the relationship of the two. Certain fragmentary allusions seem to be used primarily to thicken the air of mystery by tinting certain situations with the occult or the supernatural.

CHAPTER III

HAWTHORNE AND RENAISSANCE FICTIONAL TECHNIQUES

Hawthorne was indebted to the Renaissance tradition for several of the fictional techniques that he used in The Marble Faun. For example, the use of a series of allusions calculated to form a progression of successive types culminating in an element in the main action of the romance is a Renaissance device used by Milton and Spenser, who drew upon the techniques of other Renaissance poets including, among the Italians, Petrarch, Tasso, and Ariosto. Besides his use of typological foreshadowing, as the device is usually called, Hawthorne also used allegory. Although allegory is not exclusively a Renaissance technique, it was developed to a high degree in the chivalric epics of the Renaissance.[1] Broadly interpreted, The Marble Faun is an allegory of the clash between good and evil and the Fall of Man. Within the romance there are a number of smaller allegories which serve as tributaries to the main allegory of man, good, and evil.

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[1]For example: Ariosto, Orlando Furioso; Tasso, Jerusalem Delivered; Dante, The Divine Comedy; and Edmund Spenser, The Faerie Queene.

The typology of the romance, as has been stated, is the result of calculated progressions of allusions foreshadowing an event or the fate of a character in the narrative. The first of these to be considered in this study is the typology of Rome itself in relation to the Golden Age-Eden theme. The second is typology foreshadowing Miriam as a partner in the murder of the mysterious adversary. The last is the typological progression culminating in Donatello's fall.

The basic metaphor of the romance, the Garden of Eden from the Biblical tradition, is supported and universalized by its combination with the pagan myth of the Golden Age. Hawthorne has suggested another such re-enforcing myth in his brief allusion to the beginning of Rome. After a description of "the battered triumphal arch of Septimius Serverus . . . the desolate Forum . . . a shapeless confusion of modern edifices"[2] and other scenes in a panorama of mutability, Hawthorne points out the constant

> Alban Mountains, looking just the same, amid all this decay and change, as when Romulus gazed thitherward over his half-finished wall.[3]

The allusion is to the familiar myth of the founding of Rome as told in Virgil's Aeneid[4] and Livy's History.[5] The image

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[2]Hawthorne, op. cit., p. 20.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Virgil, The Aeneid, in Virgil's Works: The Aeneid, Eclogues and Georgics, trans. J. M. Mackail, ed. by William C. McDermott (New York: The Modern Library, 1950),p. 10.

[5]Livy, The History of Rome, trans. by B. O. Foster, Vol. I (of 14 vols.), p. 25. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961).

of the purity of the Italian countryside before centuries of rubble had accumulated there is first established and then quickly shattered by the single allusion. It was at the half-finished wall that Romulus killed his brother Remus. Even in its founding, Rome was stained by a fratricide. This allusion in a work whose basic myth is the blend of Eden and Arcadia takes on added significance when one recalls its unstated parallel in the Biblical myth of Cain and Abel to which it is typologically related.

The broad theme of homicide is particularized in the typology of Miriam. The theme is supported by a series of three typologically related Biblical allusions, the Jael-Sisera myth (Judges 4:17-24), that of Judith and Holofernes (Judith 8-15), and the Herodias-John the Baptist myth (Matthew 14). The allusions are made by way of Miriam's depiction of the Biblical scenes. As Donatello looks through her portfolio of sketches,

> the first sheet that he took up was a . . . sketch, in which the artist had jotted down her rough ideas for a picture of Jael driving the nail through the temples of Sisera.

The two looked "as if Miriam had been standing by when Jael gave the first stroke of her murderous hammer, or as if she herself were Jael. . . ."[6]

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[6] Ibid., p. 60.

Miriam had at first depicted Jael as "perfect womanhood," but had finished the sketch with "a certain wayward quirk of her pencil, which at once converted the heroine into a vulgar murderess."[7] The second sketch showed Judith holding the disembodied head of Holofernes which "was screwing its eyes upward and twirling its features into a diabolical grin of triumphant malice, which it flung right in Judith's face."[8]

The third sketch depicted

> the daughter of Herodias receiving the head of John the Baptist in a charger. . . . Miriam had imparted to the saint's face a look of gentle and heavenly reproach, with sad and blessed eyes fixed upward at the maiden . . .[9]

The order in which Hawthorne has presented these is important typologically. The first comes from the Old Testament, the second from Apocryphal writings of the intertestamental period, and the third from the New Testament. They ascend chronologically, leading up to the discussion of Miriam's possible Jewish origin, the linking of Miriam's self-portrait to the picture of Judith, and terminate in the comparison of Miriam to Guido's portrait of Beatrice Cenci.[10]

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid., pp. 60-61.

[9] Ibid., p. 61.

[10] Ibid., p. 85.

These allusions form a typological progression not only in terms of simple chronology, but also in terms of their ascending complexity. The progression prefigures Miriam's dubious guilt. In the first allusion the murder is divinely inspired and ordained. It is elemental, charismatic, and in direct obedience to God. The second allusion, too, though less elemental, is committed under divine sanction. The third, in a picture showing Herodias receiving the head of John the Baptist from her daughter, is imbued by Hawthorne through his character Miriam with "love and endless remorse"[11] and is the most complex of the Biblical allusions. The allusion to the Renaissance murderess Beatrice Cenci is perhaps the most complex and ambiguous of the whole progression. Hilda calls her "a fallen angel, — fallen, and yet sinless." Miriam remarks that "Beatrice's own conscience does not acquit her of something evil, and never to be forgotten."[12] In ambiguity of innocence or guilt, Beatrice Cenci's sin is rivaled only by that of Miriam herself. This dual progression, chronological and in ascending order of complexity, is quite in accord with the Renaissance technique of typology. The earlier Hebrew types of Christ were cruder, more elemental, and of a more physical nature. An example of a physical

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[11] Ibid., p. 61.

[12] Ibid., p. 84.

prefiguration of Christ is Samson, as seen both in Judges and in Milton's Samson Agonistes.[13] This elemental figure operates almost entirely in the realm of brute strength in the service of his Lord; whereas later proto-Christs, e. g., David and Joshua, exhibit greater admixtures of the intellectual and moral faculties with that of physical strength. The same may be said of the cunning, but primarily physical, Heracles as compared with Theseus, both types of Christ drawn from the pagan classics. The culmination of the progression in Christ is, of course, entirely spiritualized. The progression of temptations presented to Christ by Satan in Milton's Paradise Regained follows a similar development from elemental and physical temptations of food and water to the slightly more intellectualized, though still physical, temptation of wealth, to intellectual and spiritual temptations of learning and power.

Miriam's sin, though, is not so much her part in the murder as it is her effect on Donatello. Even this is not entirely evil, for Donatello's fall has made it possible for him to grow into adulthood and responsibility. Indeed, the growth of Donatello's soul has been foreshadowed in the romance through typology.

In an earlier chapter of this study Donatello's function

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[13] See the editor's introduction to Samson Agonistes in The Complete Poems and Major Prose of John Milton, edited by Merritt Y. Hughes (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1957), pp. 540-541.

as a microcosm was discussed briefly. He functions in the romance as the culmination of a series of foreshadowing types. He is Adam in the sense that he represents man who falls from the blissful state through sin. Donatello's ancestral mythology contains a story typifying and prefiguring his own fate. He and Miriam re-enact the story of his ancestor in type in the Borghese gardens. The dance in the gardens epitomizes the entire myth of the Fall of Man. The epitome is a number of things at once. It is an allegory of man's Fall couched in terms from Renaissance cosmology and has an Arcadian setting which links it to Donatello's mythos. The dancers "joined hand in Donatello's dance" and circled

> . . . in a wild ring of mirth, it seemed the realization of one of those bas-reliefs where a dance of nymphs, satyrs, or bacchanals is twined around the circle of an antique vase.[14]

The dance is suddenly ended when Miriam's model prances fantastically before her. Hawthorne's comments on the ending of the dance are in terms which draw their power directly from the notion of the universe as a cosmic dance done to the music of the spheres. The Cosmic Dance, according to Tillyard, was a frequent image in Renaissance English poetry.[15] The disruption of the dance depends on

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[14] Ibid., pp. 109-110.

[15] Tillyard, pp. 101-106. Tillyard cites Shakespeare's "Take but degree away, untune that string,/And hark, what discord follows." (p. 102). Cf. Hawthorne's "Whether it

Renaissance cosmology converted to literary imagery. The end of the dance also marks the end of the Golden Age, or, as Hawthorne says:

> Just an instant before it was Arcadia and the Golden Age. The spell being broken, it was now only that old tract of pleasure-ground, close by the people's gate of Rome.[16]

On the simplest level of interpretation, the dance is a repetition of the legend of the knight and the nymph in Donatello's mythos. Again, on the level of interpretation that would see the episode in terms of the whole composition, the dance represents the Fall, the entrance of discord and evil. It serves as a type of the actual fall of Donatello which foreshadows the murder.

Hawthorne makes extensive use of allegory in The Marble Faun. He speaks of Rome as "a heap of broken rubbish, thrown into the great charm between our own days and the Empire."[17] He allegorizes the ancient city as the "dead corpse of a giant, decaying for centuries, with no survivor mighty enough even to bury it, until the dust of all those years

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was that the harp-strings were broken, the violin out of tune, or the flautist out of breath, so it chanced that the music had ceased, and the dancers come abruptly to a pause." (p. 111). Tillyard cites Milton's Comus, Sir John Davies' Orchestra, and Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream as literary examples embodying the concept of the Cosmic Dance.

[16] Hawthorne, op. cit., p. 111. [17] Ibid., p. 134.

had gathered slowly over its recumbent form and made a casual sepulchre."[18] Again he extends the allegory to include Time as the sexton "to bury up the ancient city, as if it were a corpse."[19] In all this imagery of death and decay there is the idea that earthly fame and beauty are transitory. This idea is a commonplace of Renaissance literature and could have been seen by Hawthorne in the works of a number of the authors known to him.[20]

Closely related to this same idea is the contrast between Rome and the gardens. The contrast is built around Donatello's reactions to the two environments. He leaves "the smell of ruin and decaying generations,"[21] and enters the Borghese gardens where he romps among grass and trees and "threw himself at full length on the turf, and pressed down his lips kissing the violets and daisies."[22] This

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[18] Ibid., p. 135. [19] Ibid., p. 178.

[20] Shakespeare's sonnets: xii, xv, xix, lv, lx, lxiii, lxiv, and lxv illustrate the transientness of earthly beauty, fame, and power. Edmund Spenser's Visions of Bellay and The Visions of Petrarch Formerly Translated contain similar examples of the theme of greatness in decay. Christ rejects Satan's temptation of earthly fame on the grounds that such fame is unsubstantial. Paradise Regained, III, 103-106. Again in Paradise Lost, I, 791-796, Milton, through Michael, tells how earthly fame leads to corruption.

[21] Hawthorne, op. cit., p. 93.

[22] Ibid., p. 94.

contrast between sylvan purity and the "mouldy gloom and dim splendor of old Rome"[23] is closely related to the discussions of art and nature. Some of these discussions are treated allegorically.

A fountain in the courtyard of the old palace where Miriam has her studio gushes water "from the mouths of nameless monsters, which are merely grotesque and artificial when Bernini, or whoever was their unnatural father, first produced them."[24] Nature, in the span of centuries, has reclaimed the fountain "and cherishes it as kindly as if it were a woodland spring."[25] Again Nature is triumphant over art in the description of the Fountain of Trevi, which "Nature had adopted . . . for her own."[26] Hawthorne speaks of "the kindness with which Nature takes an English ruin to her heart" and "strives to make it a part of herself, gradually obliterating the handiwork of man, and supplanting it with her own mosses and trailing verdure, till she has won the whole structure back."[27]

Nature's reassimilation of the grotesque and vain works of man's artifice takes on an allegorical significance when

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid., p. 54.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid., p. 173.

[27] Ibid., p. 195.

compared to the passage where the "wild pets of nature"[28] are no more disturbed by Donatello "than if a mound of soil and grass and flowers had long since covered his dead body, converting it back to the sympathies from which human existence had estranged it."[29] The allegory of the restorative power of Nature is implied in these comparisons and is verified in Kenyon's suggestion that Donatello's low spirits might be elevated by a trip through the Tuscan countryside.[30] Having made this connection, it is apparent that the restorative power of Nature is linked meaningfully with the book's redemption theme.

The various allusions to chasms form a related allegorical series. As Rome "seems like nothing but a heap of broken rubbish, thrown into the great chasm . . . merely to fill it up,"[31] so also appears the chasm mentioned in the extended allusion to the legend of Curtius, of which Miriam says:

> The Palace of Caesar has gone down thither, with a hollow, rumbling sound of its fragments! All the temples have tumbled into it; and thousands of statues have been thrown after! All the armies and the triumphs have marched into the great chasm, with their martial music playing, as they stepped over the brink. All the heroes, the statesmen,

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[28] Ibid., p. 94.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid., p. 328.

[31] Ibid., p. 134.

> and the poets! All piled upon poor Curtius, who thought to have saved them all![32]

Kenyon adds to the pile of human flesh begun in Miriam's catalog, saying:

> Doubtless, too, . . . all the blood that the Romans shed, whether on the battle-fields, or in the Coliseum, or on the cross, — in whatever public or private murder, — ran into this fatal gulf, and formed a mighty subterranean lake of gore, right beneath our feet.[33]

Miriam has already allegorized the chasm as being "merely one of the orifices of that pit of blackness that lies beneath us everywhere."[34] The chasm's obvious symbolism is connected with the analogy of the Christian Hell and "those dark caverns, into which all men must descend, if they are to know anything beneath the surface and illusive pleasures of existence."[35] The allegory of the journey from innocence through darkness into the light of knowledge is at least as old as Dante. The chasm, the pit of darkness, the catacombs, all are related to and are types of the ageless tradition of the harrowing of Hell. The process is epitomized in the narrow streets of Perugia, some of which look

> like caverns, being arched all over, and plunging down abruptly towards an unknown darkness; which, when you have fathomed its depths, admits you to

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[32] Ibid., p. 192.

[33] Ibid., p. 193.

[34] Ibid., p. 191.

[35] Ibid., p. 302.

a daylight that you scarcely hoped to behold again.[36]

Another allegory which hinges on the idea of a descent, or Fall, into blackness for ultimate elevation is that of the statue of the drowned diver. The descent may bring the diver the pearls for which he seeks or it may bring him death. The diver in the figure "had got entangled in the weeds at the bottom of the sea, and lay dead among the pearl-oysters."[37] Miriam, moralizing the statue, calls it "too cold and stern in its moral lesson."[38] Later Miriam comments that her own "pearl" deep in the chasm within herself is "no precious pearl, as I just now told him /Kenyon7; but my dark-red carbuncle —red as blood — is too rich a gem to put into a stranger's casket.'"[39] Here the gem image is turned from the pearl of wisdom to the red

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[36] Ibid., p. 356. That the idea of such an allegory was not alien to Hawthorne's mind and literary method is shown by an entry in his American Notebooks made more than twenty years before he wrote The Marble Faun. "The human Heart to be allegorized as a cavern; at the entrance there is sunshine, and flowers growing about it. You step within, but a short distance, and begin to find yourself surrounded with a terrible gloom, and monsters of divers kinds; it seems like Hell itself. You are bewildered, and wander long without hope. At Last a light strikes you. You peep towards it, and find yourself in a region that seems, in short, to reproduce the flowers and sunny beauty of the entrance, but all perfect." This passage is taken from Hawthorne's American Notebooks as cited in Malcolm Cowley, The Portable Hawthorne (New York: The Viking Press, 1948), p. 564.

[37] Ibid., pp. 142-143. [38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid., p. 157.

stone of secret guilt. The two gems have much in common. Both are hidden in depths and darkness and both require a search or quest to be brought to light. They are but different versions of the quest type. Hawthorne has presented several views of the same idea to produce a network of allegory beneath the surface of his romance to be called to the surface only by the reader's volition to enrich the whole airy fabric of the romance in much the same way that Kenyon revitalized Milton in his statue of the poet's head. Kenyon had

> not copied from any one bust or picture, yet /his work was/ more authentic than any of them, because all known representations of the poet had been profoundly studied, and solved in the artist's mind. The bust over the tomb in Grey Friars Church, the original miniatures and pictures, wherever to be found, had mingled each its special truth in this one work; wherein, likewise, by long perusal and deep love of the "Paradise Lost," the "Comus," the "Lycidas," and "L' Allegro," the sculptor had succeeded, even better than he knew, in spiritualizing his marble with a poet's mighty genius.[40]

The same composite allegory of the Fall is seen in the description of the faded frescoes of Monte Beni. Kenyon and Donatello, having commented on the allegorical possibilities latent in the pictures "that were so joyous and are so dismal,"[41] turn their silent attention to

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[40] Ibid., p. 143.

[41] Ibid., p. 262.

> one of the figures which was repeated many times over in the groups upon the walls and ceiling. It formed the principal link of an allegory, by which (as is often the case in such pictorial designs) the whole series of frescoes were bound together, but which it would be impossible, or, at least, very wearisome, to unravel.[42]

The trained eye of Kenyon the sculptor "fancied a resemblance in it [the recurrent figure] to Donatello."[43] This forms a principal link in Hawthorne's compound allegory with the periodic recurrence of the characteristics of the Old Faun in his descendants. The recurrence of the type of the Arcadian Faun in successive ages is itself an allegory of the idea that each succeeding generation must experience for itself the individual fall and maturation pattern represented in the Eden-Golden Age myth. Each individual fall is at once new and a participation in the myth. The myth is the archetype, the individual repetitions are its types.

In the romance Hawthorne established the Eden-Golden Age myth as the archetype and showed various types of it in the different levels of the narrative, analogous to the

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[42] Ibid., p. 263. Compare this with Spenser's Faerie Queene, III, xi, 28ff. Spenser uses a device similar to Hawthorne's allegorical frescoes. Spenser's device is a tapestry with which "the walls yclothed were . . . And in those tapets weren fashioned/Many faire pourtraicts, and many a fire feate;/And all of love, and of lusty-bed,/ . . . And eke Cupides warres they did repeate,/And cruell battailes, which he whilome fought/Gainst all the gods, to make his empire great;/Besides the huge massacres, which he wrought/ On mighty kings and keasars, into thraldome brought."

[43] Ibid.

levels or degrees of Creation in the ladder or sphere conceit. In this way Hawthorne may be said to have done in fiction what Kenyon had done in marble for Milton and what the antique artist had done in fresco for the counts of Monte Beni and what the recurring types of the Faun had done in concrete reality. The literal narrative level on which the characters of the romance exist is in effect a re-enactment in the personal sphere of the archetypal Fall. The narrative level is interrupted by descriptive passages which may be interpreted as allegory. The knit of allegory from the descriptive passages merges with allegorical material from the narrative, producing a cohesive and dense structure.

CHAPTER IV

.ART IN THE ROMANCE AND IN THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE

The picture of the artist which emerges from the romance conforms to Sir Philip Sidney's concept of the poet as one who is elevated above the common level and whose function has been since ancient times that of poet, priest, enchanter, and interpreter of Nature. Hawthorne's distinction between the romance and the novel defines the romance in terms compatible with and similar to Sidney's in his definition of poetry as having a wider scope than other forms of writing.

Hawthorne found it interesting that sculptors rarely execute a work. He notes his reaction to the discovery that sculptors conceive the work, then turn the actual work of cutting the stone over to studio assistants. The artist conceives the design and

> without the necessity of his touching the work with his own finger, he will see before him the statue that is to make him renowned. His creative power has wrought it with a word.[1]

The idea of creation by the Word is not new, but originates in Western thought in the Hebrew Creation myth. The idea of the creative or evocative word whereby the artist calls

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[1] Ibid., p. 140.

forth the image suspended within the block of stone is related to incantation and magic. Miriam's praise of the sculptured busts in Kenyon's studio is based on this analogy between the artist and the use of incantation. She tells him that the busts make her "feel as if you were a magician. You turn feverish men into cool, quiet marble."[2] The sculptor then seems to transform men into marble with the creative power of a word. This power is not restricted to sculptors, but is seen to operate in other artists as well. Hawthorne provides another link between artists and magicians in speaking of a painter

> who has studied Nature with such tender love that she takes him to her intimacy, enabling him to reproduce her in landscapes that seem the reality of a better earth, and yet are but the truth of the very scenes around us, observed by the painter's insight and interpreted for us by his skill. By his magic, the moon throws her light far out of the picture . . .[3]

Hawthorne uses the terms "poet-painter" and "poetic mood" in describing the artist. He has mentioned the observation of external nature and the artist's special insight. The artist then is a creator whose power to evoke beauty by the use of seemingly magical words and whose astute observation and insight into Nature make him at once artist, poet, magician, and the world's interpreter.

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[2] Ibid., p. 145.

[3] Ibid., p. 160.

The artist's insight is related to his imaginative faculty. Hawthorne says that:

> artists, indeed, are lifted by the ideality of their pursuits a little way off the earth, and are therefore able to catch the evanescent fragrance that floats in the atmosphere of life above the heads of the ordinary crowd.[4]

This imaginative elevation enables Kenyon to catch a glimpse of Arcadia. Although Donatello's childhood haunts had become overgrown with "a sort of strangeness" in Donatello's eyes, "to the sculptor's eye, nevertheless, they were still rich with beauty."[5] And in yet another passage Hawthorne shows that he estimates the artist as one at once a part of and above common humanity. The description of the Roman apartments shows a cross-section of society, "people of every degree."[6] As one

> ascended from story to story, passed lofty doorways, set within rich fames of sculptured marble; and climbing unweariedly upward, until the glories of the first piano and the elegance of the middle height were exchanged for a sort of Alpine region, cold and naked in its aspect.[7]

It is at this austere height that the artists' garrets are situated.

Within the arts Hawthorne makes a distinction between painting and sculpture. Hilda remarks to Kenyon that since

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[4] Ibid., pp. 184-185.

[5] Ibid., p. 280.

[6] Ibid., p. 54.

[7] Ibid., p. 55.

he is a sculptor, he thinks "nothing can be finely wrought except it be cold and hard, like the marble in which your ideas take shape."[8] She claims for painting a more "delicate beauty . . . softened and warmed throughout."[9] Miriam, too, condemns sculpture as a dead and unoriginal art whose narrow scope does not permit it the lucidity of painting while affording the sculptor's work with the immortality of stone itself.[10] From this, one may infer that painting is the more ephemeral and reportorial, and sculpture, although lacking in originality, clothes ancient and eternal truths in modern dress. The nude statues of the ancients properly served in his society,

> but as for Mr. Gibson's colored Venuses . . . and all other nudities of today, I really do not understand what they have to say to this generation.[11]

The poet-magician who works in stone immortalizes whatever idea he commits to the "pure, white, undecaying substance" which serves him "in the stead of shifting and transitory language."[12] On this account, his is a religious obligation to grant eternal life to only the "high treatment of heroic subjects, or the delicate evolution of spiritual, through material beauty."[13] The sculptor, then, is also consecrated

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[8] Ibid., p. 129.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid., pp. 150-151.
[11] Ibid., p. 149.
[12] Ibid., p. 163.
[13] Ibid., p. 163.

a priest.

Hawthorne's account of how Kenyon created his bust of Milton seems also to comment on his own method in the romance. A similar relationship exists between the allegorical fresco at Monte Beni and the romance. The artist in both cases has given new form to old ideas. This is not to say that either work is unoriginal. Hawthorne has borrowed the theme of the Fall from Milton, has blended it with elements taken from other works, and has propounded the Christian doctrine of Adam's sin and redemption; yet his work is not unoriginal. In the same work he has presented a portrait of the artist as poet-priest and magician.

Sir Philip Sidney voiced the learned opinion of the English Renaissance in his Defense of Poesy. He states plainly that the poet-priest-magician concept is at least as old as the Romans, among whom "a poet was called vates, which is as much as diviner, foreseer, or prophet . . ."[14] As to the magical aspect, Sidney says that it was thought

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[14]Sir Philip Sidney, "The Defense of Poesy" in The Renaissance in England: Non-dramatic Prose and Poetry of the Sixteenth Century, ed. Hyder E. Rollins and Herschel Baker (Boston: J. C. Heath and Company, 1954), p. 606b. The material available does not indicate that Hawthorne had read Sidney, but the similarities between certain of their aesthetic views seem to indicate that if Hawthorne did not read Sidney, he did at least hold views on art strikingly similar to those of Sidney. Hawthorne could have seen ideas very similar to Sidney's in Spenser's "A Letter of the Authors" prefixed to The Faerie Queene, The Works of Edmund Spenser, Book One, pp. 167-168, and in The Shepheardes Calender in the Dodge edition of The Complete Works, pp. 5-56 passim.

once that "spirits were commanded by such verses — whereupon this word 'charms,' derived of carmina, cometh."[15]

After discussing the limitations of other types of writing, Sidney says:

> Only the poet, disdaining to be tied to any such subjection, lifted up with the vigor of his own invention, doth grow in effect into another nature, in making things either better than Nature bringeth forth, or, quite anew, forms such as never were in Nature . . . so as he goeth hand in hand with Nature, not enclosed within the narrow warrant of her gifts, but freely ranging within the zodiac of his own wit.[16]

The parallel between Sidney's statement and that of Hawthorne in one of his prefaces is striking. Hawthorne says:

> When a writer calls his work a Romance, it need hardly be observed that he wishes to claim a certain latitude, both as to its fashion and material, which he would not have felt himself entitled to assume had he professed to be writing a Novel. The latter form of composition is presumed to aim at a very minute fidelity, not merely to the possible, but to the probable and ordinary course of man's experience. The former — while, as a work of art, it must rigidly subject itself to laws, and while it sins unpardonably so far as it may swerve aside from the truth of the human heart — has fairly a right to present that truth under circumstances, to a great extent, of the writer's own choosing or creation.[17]

In the preface to The Marble Faun Hawthorne specifically links

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[15] Ibid., p. 607. [16] Ibid.

[17] Nathaniel Hawthorne, "Preface," The House of the Seven Gables (Vol. III of The Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne, 15 vols. ed. by George Parsons Lathrop; Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1883), p. 13. It is also interesting to note the

the romance form with poetry.[18]

Hawthorne outlined the sphere in which his Romance of Monte Beni would be enacted as well as the terms in which it would be stated in the first two paragraphs of the work. The treatment is veiled in allegory as are the passages on Kenyon's bust of Milton and the allegorical frescoes of Monte Beni which comment on Hawthorne's method. An allegorical reading of the opening paragraphs will serve to illustrate the point. There are four persons standing in a sculpture gallery in the first room "after ascending the staircase" in a realm inhabited by figures of "undiminished majesty and beauty of their ideal life" notwithstanding the corrosive effects of damp earth and the passage of centuries. It is there that the "figure of child, clasping a dove to her bosom, but assaulted by a snake" is situated. The second paragraph deals with the panorama of decay, confusion, and change seen spreading out at the foot of "a flight of broad steps, descending along-side the antique and massive foundation of the Capitol." Amid the decay are "Christian churches,

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similarity between Sidney's idea of the poet's being "lifted up with the vigor of his own invention" and Hawthorne's statement in The Marble Faun that artists "are lifted by the ideality of their pursuits a little way off the earth." (p. 184).

[18]Hawthorne, The Marble Faun, p. 15.

built on the pavements of heathen temples, and supported by the very pillars that once upheld them." In the distance beyond "the view is shut in by the Alban Mountains," which circumscribe the world of the romance.[19]

It has been shown that Hawthorne's basic thematic structure in The Marble Faun is that of Adam's Fall, and that this structure has been re-enforced by the use of the pagan Golden Age-Arcadia parallel. It has been demonstrated that the thematic structure is fitted into essentially the same cosmology as that which provided the basis for Milton's poetry. Hawthorne's debt to Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton has been established.

Hawthorne's debt to the Renaissance has been shown to extend beyond the use of cosmological conceits into the realm of fictional techniques. He has been shown to draw on the tradition of Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton. This study has demonstrated that Hawthorne used allusions and allegorical passages to form progression and networks of associations which adhere to the Renaissance device of typological foreshadowing and epitomizing.

Hawthorne's concept of the artist as described in The Marble Faun has been shown to bear close resemblance to that of Sir Philip Sidney. The concept of the prose romance

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[19]Hawthorne, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

as a literary form as stated in one of Hawthorne's prefaces has been shown to be essentially the same as Sidney's concept of poetry. It also has been indicated that Hawthorne saw a similarity between prose romance and poetry.

From this emerges the conclusion that Hawthorne consciously (insofar as artists are ever completely aware of what their genius leads them to do) manipulated concepts and techniques learned from his reading in Renaissance literature and the classics in the creation of The Marble Faun.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

This information is taken from A. Bartlett Giamatti, The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), pages as indicated in parentheses at the end of each section.

A. "The first mention of the Golden Age per se occurs, as is well known, in Hesiod's Works and Days. . . . It is not an age of 'gold' in the sense of great wealth, but is 'golden' because life there was best at the beginning, simple, noble, comfortable. . . . This is the first expression of the Golden Age as a state of existence in the dim past." (pp. 17-18).

B. "Among the Roman poets, Virgil is foremost in his treatment of the Golden Age existence. The most famous instance is his celebrated Fourth Eclogue . . . predicting the Golden Age in the future. . . . Having forecast the return of the golden race, Virgil goes on to catalog (ll. 18-46) the attributes of that existence. Earth will pour forth her bounty, animals will live in harmony, and man (ll. 37ff.) will not feel the strain of toil. . . . it is small wonder that Christians regarded this Eclogue as a forecast of Christ." (pp. 23-24).

C. "For other statements of the Golden Age in Virgil, see Georgic, I, 125-128, for the happy earth under Saturn; Georgic, II, 140-176, where Italy is seen as the land of peace and plenty surpassing all others; II, 324-345, where springtime as the best season for planting leads to a splendid vision of the Earth's renewal, which is where the country life of Old Italians (Sabines and Etruscans) before Jupiter was a golden time." (p. 24n).

D. Other references to the Golden Age are to be found in: Cicero, De Natura Deorum; Ovid, Metamorphoses, I, 89-112; "the myth of the Golden Age is treated by Dante, Inferno, XIV, 94-120, in the figure of the Old Man of Crete, and is mentioned in Purgatorio, XXVIII, 139-140, by Matelda. An influential statement on the Golden Age in the Renaissance occurs in Shakespeare's The Tempest, II, i, 147ff., . . . one of the main sources for this passage is presumed to be John Florio's translation of Montaigne's "Of the Cannibals" where a similar ideal, 'natural' state is described. Tasso's famous chorus, beginning 'O bella eta de l'oro,' in Aminta, I, ii, was widely imitated, and the whole myth receives grand treatment in Cervantes' Don Quixote, I, Chapter xi, when the

Knight lectures the friendly goatherds on the Golden Age." (p. 33n).

APPENDIX II

This information is taken from John Milton, "Prolusion II, On the Music of the Spheres," ed. by Donald Lemen Clark, translated from the Latin by Bromley Smith (Vol. XII of The Works of John Milton, Frank Allen Patterson, general editor. 18 vols.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1931-1938), pp. 151, 157.

"Surely, if indeed he [Pythagoras] taught the harmony of the spheres and that the heavens revolved with melodious charm, he wished to signify by it, in his wise way, the very loving and affectionate relations of the orbs and their eternally uniform revolutions according to the fixed laws of necessity." (p. 151).

"Moreover, the boldness of the thieving Prometheus seems to be the reason why we hear so little this harmony, a deed which brought upon humanity so many ills and likewise took away this happiness from us, which we shall never be permitted to enjoy so long as we remain brutish and overwhelmed by wicked animal desires; for how can those be susceptible of that heavenly sound whose souls, as Persius says, are bent toward the earth and absolutely devoid of celestial matter? But if we possessed hearts so pure, so spotless, so snowy, as once upon a time Pythagoras had, then indeed would our ears be made to resound and to be completely filled with that most delicious music of the revolving stars; and then all things would return immediately as it were to that golden age; then, at length, freed from miseries we should spend our time in peace, blessed and envied even by the gods." (p. 157).

APPENDIX III

The differences between Adam and Donatello do not seem to be sufficient to negate the fact already demonstrated that Donatello is a type of Adam. These differences are explainable. Adam was the spontaneous creation of God; Donatello is the lineal descendant of a Faun. The Faun origin puts Donatello into a thoroughly pagan context and allies him more closely with primitive nature than is the case with Adam.

The chief similarity between the two figures is that both are deepened through suffering. Adam leaves the garden of Eden on a note of resignation and limited optimism. Donatello also emerges from his experience of evil on a note of resignation. Donatello is resigned to a fatalistic notion of God. Donatello's new intellectual pursuits have brought him to a primitive concept of the Godhead as a God of wrath.

Donatello is specific and dogmatic in his new conviction. The discussion of the figures depicted in the cathedral windows illustrate this point. Donatello says of them:

> The pictures fill me with emotion, but not such as you /Kenyon/ seem to experience. . . . I tremble at those awful saints; and, most of all,at the figure above them. He glows with Divine wrath! (The Marble Faun, p. 351.)

Kenyon assures him that God's gaze is one of love, but Donatello clings to the notion of wrath.

The basis of the concept of the wrathful God is fear, as Donatello's word "tremble" suggests.

A number of sources known to Hawthorne deal with the notion that fear is the instinctive basis of reverence. Donatello has been shown to be more a creature of instinct than of intellect. His first gropings in intellection move from the basis of instinct toward higher processes of the mind. His descent from a primitive form, the very soul of animal instinct, enhances the possibility that his progression into full humanity, which Adam had from the beginning, will be gradual.

The idea that fear is the primal stuff of reverence is deeply imbedded in the relation between Shakespeare's malignant spirit Caliban and Stephano in The Tempest, II, ii, ll. 60-76. Stephano confronts Caliban and fills him with fear. Caliban offers to serve Stephano if he will not torment him. Stephano accepts Caliban's reverence. Later in the same scene (ll. 145-147) Caliban asks Stephano whether or not he "ha'st not . . . dropt from heaven." Stephano, seeing that the instinctual creature has assumed him to be a god, assures him that he is a celestial being.

Shakespeare's source for Caliban is Montaigne's essay "Of the Cannibals." In that essay Montaigne portrays man in the state of nature whose wants and responsibilities are few and grounded in simple instinct. Of the cannibals Montaigne says:

> Those people are wild, just as we call wild the fruits that Nature has produced by herself and in her normal course; whereas really it is those that we have changed artifically and led astray from the common order, that we should rather call wild. The former retain alive and vigorous their genuine, their most useful and natural, virtues and properties, which we have debased in the latter in adapting them to gratify our corrupted taste. (Montaigne, The Complete Works of Montaigne, ed. and trans. by Donald M. Frame (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1957), p. 152.)

He says much the same of animals in his "Apology for Raymond Sebond" in the same edition:

> Since animals are born, beget, feed, act, move, live, and die in a manner so close to our own, all that we detract from their motive powers, and all that we add to ours to raise our state above theirs, can in no way proceed from the judgment of our reason. (p. 345.)

Thus he has succeeded in showing the instinctive side of man's nature to be similar in kind to that of animals. In primitives the similarity is clearer than in those spoiled by sophistication.

Shakespeare's Caliban follows a natural and instinctive path in deeming Stephano divine because of his fear of Stephano as an agent capable of harming him.

Robert Browning's poem "Caliban Upon Setebos; or, Natural Theology in the Island" develops the idea of the primitive mind conceiving of anthropomorphic deity through fear. (Robert Browning, "Caliban Upon Setebos; or, Natural Theology in the Island" in Vol. IV of The Works of Robert Browning, 6 vols. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1899.) In the notes to the poem (pp. 460-461) Browning's debt to The Tempest is acknowledged.

Hawthorne's Donatello is a primitive in the sense that he is unsophisticated. His sympathy and unity with nature before the fall were very strong. After the fall his progression to intellectual life is necessarily new to him and stadial. His concept of God as Divine wrath is analogous to

the primitive notion of reverence born out of fear. Yet it has been shown that Hawthorne conceived of him as an Adamic figure. The Darwinian implications of this lie outside the scope of the present study. It must suffice here to point out this contrast between Adam and the concept of Natural Man as being a part of Hawthorne's synthesis of the pagan and Christian traditions.

APPENDIX IV

"Paracelsus [1493-1541] travelled among the mountains of Bohemia, in the East, and in Sweden, in order to inspect the labors of the miners, to be initiated in the mysteries of the oriental adepts, and to observe the secrets of nature and the famous mountain of loadstone. He professes also to have visited Spain, Portugal, Prussia, Poland, and Transylvania; everwhere communicating freely, not only with the physicians, but also the old women, charlatans, and conjurers of those several lands. It is believed that he extended his journeyings as far as Egypt and Tartary, and that he accompanied the son of the Khan of the Tartars to Constantinople, for the purpose of obtaining the secret of the tincture of Trismegistus from a Greek who inhabited that capital."

--quoted from a translation of portions of the Biographic Universelle, Paris, 1822, in Robert Browning's notes to Paracelsus in volume one of The Works of Robert Browning. 6 vols.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1899), pp. 123-124.

" . . . Neoplatonists like Marcilio Ficino conducted studies of antique (or pseudo-antique) sources which they admitted would be dangerous to religion and to society if not carefully kept from the hands of the profane — an attitude fully shared by [Henry Cornelius] Agrippa [1486-1535] and his own circle of friends. Magical, astrological, alchemical, and cabalistic studies were almost always regarded as esoteric. . . . Agrippa and his young associates . . . did form a fairly well-defined secret group of investigators of an ancient wisdom thought to be concealed in such texts as the Hermetic literature, the Cabala, the Orphic hymns, and Neoplatonic philosophy. This brotherhood produced, in the form of Agrippa's own De occulta philosophia, one of the most important and influential pieces of Renaissance occultist literature."

Charles G. Nauert, Jr., Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1965), pp. 18-19.

"The basic magical-astrological view of causality is strongly interwoven in the whole Renaissance philosophy of nature, from its inception in the fifteenth, through its life in the sixteenth, and even through the beginnings of the seventeenth century."

Ernst Cassirer, The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy, translated from the German by Mario

Domandi (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1964), p. 101.

"That the New Englanders brought their views on demonology and witchcraft with them from the Mother Country is a self-evident proposition, but it may be worth while to refer to a striking instance of the kind. The Rev. John Higginson, writing from Salem to Increase Mather in 1683, sends him two cases for his Illustrious Providences, — both of which he 'beleves to be certain.' The first is an account of how a mysterious stranger, thought to be the devil, once lent a conjuring book to 'godly Mr. /Samuel7 Sharp, who was Ruling Elder of the Church of Salem allmost 30 years.' The incident took place when Sharp was a young man in London. The second narrative Mr. Higginson 'heard at Gilford from a godly old man yet living. He came from Essex, and hath been in N. E. about 50 years.' It is a powerfully interesting legend of the Faust type, localized in Essex."

George Lyman Kittredge, Witchcraft in Old and New England (New York: Russell and Russell, 1956), p. 579.